Sir William Pepperrell, Bart.

(1696-1759)

His Britannic Majesty's
Obedient Servant
of Piscataqua

JOSEPH W. P. FROST







"Were American Newcomen to do naught else, our work is well done if we succeed in sharing with America a strengthened inspiration to continue the struggle towards a nobler Civilization—through wider knowledge and understanding of the hopes, ambitions, and deeds of leaders in the past who have upheld Civilization's material progress. As we look backward, let us look forward."

—CHARLES PENROSE

Senior Vice-President for North America

The Newcomen Society of England



This statement, crystallizing a broad purpose of the Society, was first read at the Newcomen Meeting at New York World's Fair on August 5, 1939, when American Newcomen were guests of The British Government

"Actorum Memores simul affectamus Agenda"

SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL, Bart. (1696-1759)

His Britannic Majesty's Obedient Servant

of Piscataqua

An Address in Maine



AMERICAN NEWCOMEN, through the years, has honored the memories of courageous pioneers, both in the United States of America and in Canada, whose lives have contributed to their communities and to their country—in broad varieties of ways. Some of these men have gone down in history as great figures; men outstanding. Such a Newcomen manuscript is this, dealing with the life and work and times and untiring efforts, in behalf of the British Colonies in North America, of a New Englander whose memory long will remain alive because of his great contributions to the America of the first half of the vibrant 18th Century. Sir William ever will be revered as Maine's first citizen—despite the fact that

he, properly, was His Britannic Majesty's Obedient Servant!



Sir William Pepperrell, Bart. (1696-1759)

Sir William Pepperrell, Bart.

(1696-1759)

His Britannic Majesty's Obedient Servant of Piscataqua

JOSEPH W. P. FROST

MEMBER OF THE NEWCOMEN SOCIETY

KITTERY POINT

MAINE





WITH AN INTRODUCTION
by ALLYN B. McINTIRE

ILLUSTRATED BY CECILE NEWBOLD

THE NEWCOMEN SOCIETY IN NORTH AMERICA
NEW YORK SAN FRANCISCO MONTREAL

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JOSEPH W. P. FROST

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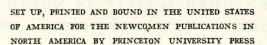


This Newcomen Address, dealing with the life and work and times of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart. (1696-1759) and with his manifold contributions to Northern New England, was delivered during a Newcomen Meeting held on the grounds of the famous Lady Pepperrell House, built in 1760, at Kittery Point, Maine, U.S.A., when Mr. Frost and Mr. McIntire were the guests of honor,

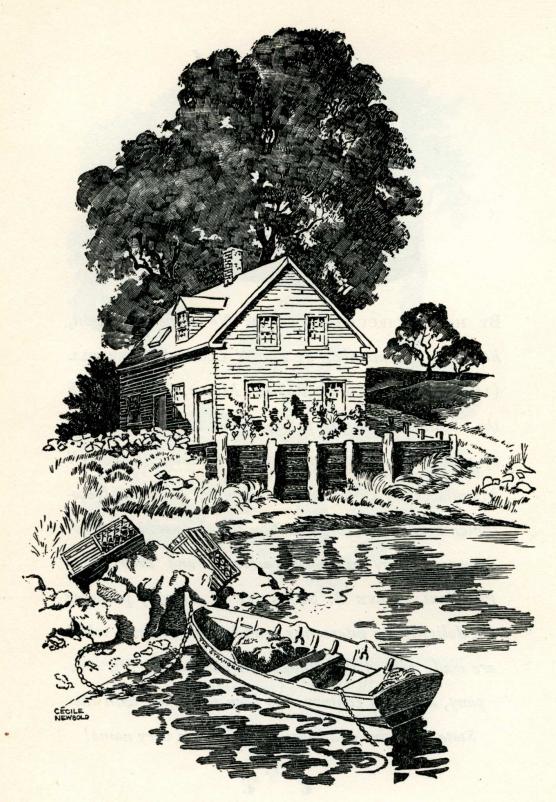
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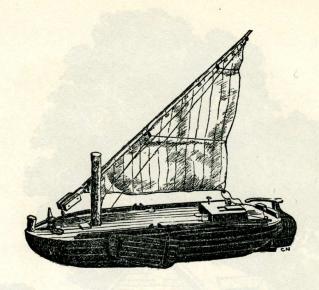








"Sir William's Counting House" It still stands



By Happy circumstance this Newcomen occasion, honoring the memory of Sir William Pepperrell (1696-1759) of Kittery Point in Maine, coincided with the 100th Anniversary (1851-1951) of the beginnings of operations of the internationally-known Pepperrell Manufacturing Company. Accordingly American Newcomen invited that organization to take part in the observance. They graciously accepted and their Vice-President, Allyn B. McIntire of Boston, prepared the delightfully interesting introductory remarks which are made part of this Newcomen publication. His company, during a century, has been identified with the State of Maine and bears Sir William's very name!

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Maine's best and most cherished traditions center in the vibrant days of Sir William

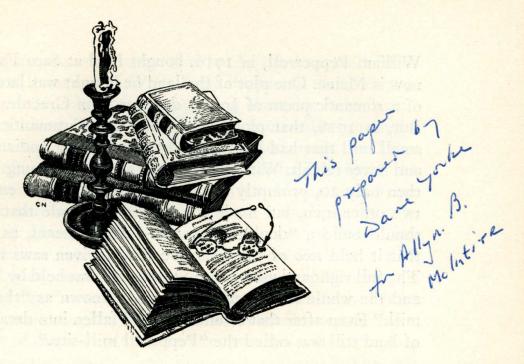
Pepperrell of Kittery Point!

Biographical Sketch of Mr. McIntire

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New England's proud traditions in the beginnings of Cotton Textile Manufacturing are an epic in the dramatic history of American Industry! New England, during long generations, has stood for quality, workmanship, and honesty. Integrity of commercial dealings has been a watchword. A leader in the textile field, Pepperrell Manufacturing Company employs some 8,500 people, in five mills: Biddeford and Lewiston, in Maine; Fall River, in Massachusetts; Lindale, in Georgia; and Pepperrell, in Alabama. None better could represent this important organization at this celebration than ALLYN B. McIntire, their Vice-President. His is a broad background of authorship and publishing. His early work was with Conde Nast Publishing Company, at New York. Later, with Barton, Durstine & Osborn, at Boston. In 1928, he became associated with Pepperrell Manufacturing Company; and, the next year, Vice-President. During the succeeding decade he made eight extensive business trips Abroad, including England and the Continent. Has taken active part in national and state and civic causes. Is a Member of the Corporation and Treasurer of The Church of The Advent, Boston. Serves on numerous industrial and financial and other boards. It is interesting that his family goes back to one of the Barons who signed the Magna Charta. Textile executive, publisher, author, churchman, civic leader, good citizen, Mr. McIntire is a member of the New England Committee, in The Newcomen Society of England.





INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AT THE LADY PEPPERRELL HOUSE AT KITTERY POINT, MAINE, U.S.A., ON AUGUST 17, 1951, BY ALLYN B. MC INTIRE OF BOSTON, VICE-PRESIDENT OF PEPPERRELL MANUFACTURING COMPANY; MEMBER OF THE NEW ENGLAND COMMITTEE, IN THE NEWCOMEN SOCIETY OF ENGLAND.

My fellow members of Newcomen:

ODAY, here in Maine, I stand before you as the representative of the only large-scale manufacturing and merchandising organization in America (and probably in the World) to carry, and still preserve in the marts of trade, the name of the most famous American merchant of a time two centuries back—the name of Sir William Pepperrell. The spelling we use varies slightly from the spelling he used—but our spelling was in common use during his lifetime, and we have found documents of two and a quarter centuries ago showing that his own mother—again in his lifetime—used frequently two other variant spellings. The spelling does not matter. The man we honor today, the man whose name we bear and perpetuate, is one and the same.

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The link, Mr. Chairman, between us springs from a curious chain of circumstances that began 235 years ago when young

William Pepperrell, in 1716, bought land at Saco Falls in what now is Maine. One plot of the land he bought was later the scene of a romantic poem of Indian days by John Greenleaf Whittier. But, in 1716, that plot held merely the unromantic ruins of a small mill that had been burned by marauding Indians, in 1675, and never rebuilt. With characteristic acuity the young Pepperrell, then only 20, promptly sold a half interest in that empty site to two other men, but made it a condition of sale that the buyers should build a "double" saw mill—which meant, as you know, that it held two of the primitive water-driven saws then in use. The full right and use of one of those saws was held by Pepperrell; and the whole mill became commonly known as "the Pepperell mill." Even after that second mill had fallen into decay, that plot of land still was called the "Pepperell mill-site."

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Now for other links in the chain of circumstance. When Sir William died, in 1759, there was no textile industry in any sense of the term as we understand it today. In fact, it was ten years after Pepperrell's death before Richard Arkwright took out, in England, his first patent on textile spinning machinery. It was twenty-six years after Pepperrell's death that Edmund Cartwright, also in England, patented the first power-loom. And when the American, Eli Whitney, invented the cotton gin, in 1793, Sir William had been dead a third of a century . . . while his widow, Lady Pepperrell, had been dead four years.

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It was more than a half century after Sir William's death before Francis Cabot Lowell of Boston quietly studied the British textile industry that had grown out of the inventions of Arkwright and Cartwright—and brought home from England, in his head, the machinery secrets that the English had so jealously guarded. When Lowell started the mills at Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1815—that brought the Industrial Revolution to America—there was not a ship nor a mill nor a store nor a New England acre, left in the Pepperrell name.

But the chain of circumstance that led to the Pepperell Mills of today was still not ended. When Lady Pepperrell died, in 1789, in this very house, a boy of 5 was playing about his father's innyard in a small New Hampshire village some 60 miles from here. That boy, Samuel Batchelder, grew to manhood, spent the Years 1806 to 1808 in nearby Exeter, and then helped to build the second cotton mill to be established in New Hampshire. From that mill—a mere spinning mill—he went to Lowell, in 1825, to start the early Hamilton Mill there. Six years later, Batchelder left the Hamilton (and Lowell) to come to Saco Falls, where he became the first successful exponent in Maine of the famous "Waltham system" of cotton manufacture, in which he had been trained at Lowell. At Saco Falls, Batchelder's home was within a stone's throw of the little plot of land that was still called, 72 years after Sir William's death, "the Pepperell mill-site." The last surviving trace of Sir William at Saco Falls, and the man Batchelder, who was to found the Pepperell Manufacturing Company as a "Waltham system" mill, were thus brought together.

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The full story of Batchelder's work at Biddeford has been told in our Company history (Men and Times of Pepperell), published in 1945. To summarize briefly, he began the final development of the power of the Falls by chartering his first cotton manufacturing company in 1841—but he gave it the New Hampshire name of Laconia after the section in which he was born. He put that company into operation in 1844, and immediately chartered his second (and final) Biddeford company. Note the date, 1844—just 85 years after Sir William's death . . . but 99 years after his great victory at Louisburg, in June of 1745. That Samuel Batchelder, noted for his love of historical reading, and with the ancient Pepperell mill-site close to his door-that he thus had, in 1844, the approaching centenary of Louisburg in mind, seems both natural and probable. Which was why, I believe, that in the charter application he made that year to the Maine Legislature, he gave his new company the name of the Pepperell Manufacturing Company. The point cannot now be proved, for he left no record of his thinking. But most certainly the idea is not fanciful,

once we recall the full meaning to the people of Colonial America of Pepperrell's Louisburg victory. A fortress considered impregnable, captured after a few weeks' campaign that (as one historian has put it) had been planned by a lawyer, led by a merchant, and fought by Yankee farmers, mechanics, and fishermen—that proud feat had a really tremendous impact, and lingered long in New England memories!

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It is further an interesting speculation that in Batchelder's mind there may also have been family traditions involved. His father and grandfather are known to have fought at the Battle of Lexington; and the chronology still further indicates that the grandfather, Jonathan Batchelder, might also have been part of William Pepperrell's army at the capture of Louisburg. Just as the town of Pepperell, Massachusetts, is known to have been named for Sir William, in 1753, at the instance of a local Minister who had been a chaplain in the Louisburg army, so also the naming of the Pepperell Manufacturing Company may in part have come about through family memories passed down by an old soldier-grandfather to an admiring grandson. Again the point cannot now be proven, but there is evidence that the name Pepperell had special meaning to Samuel Batchelder. For, in 1845, the centennial year of Louisburg, before the new company's mills had even been built, an editorial appeared in the local newspaper at Saco Falls which plainly had been inspired by talks with Batchelder. In that editorial of 1845, the prediction was made that the country around the Falls would one day be known not as the City of Laconia (the name of the first company Batchelder had chartered), but rather as the "City of Pepperell."

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In Sir William's day, through his ships and trade, the name Pepperrell was known widely in New England, Old England, in France, the West Indies, and the Mediterranean. A century later, it was the Pepperell Manufacturing Company, through its famous "China trade," that made the name Pepperell widely known and honored in India, in China, and across the Seven Seas. Though chartered in 1844, the Company's organization was delayed by hard times and by other obstacles, so that operations did not begin until late in 1850. But it paid its first dividend—of \$16 on each \$500 share of stock—in August 1852. And this Year of 1951 has rounded out a full century of unbroken annual dividend payments—a record that few American companies can match, and that no other textile manufacturing corporation has even approached. It is a record of stability in an industry that in the past has been notably unstable. We may believe that the merchant-prince, Sir William Pepperrell, and his wife, the Lady Pepperrell, would not be ashamed of that record, achieved in their name.

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Such, briefly, is the story behind the naming of the Pepperell Manufacturing Company, and it illustrates again how much stranger fact can be than fiction. If William Pepperrell had not bought the mill-site at Saco Falls; if Arkwright and Cartwright in England had not established a new industry; if Francis Cabot Lowell had not transferred (and characteristically Americanized) that industry to this Country; if Samuel Batchelder had not come to Saco Falls (his coming was actually a choice between several different opportunities) . . . if those happenstances had not happened, there would probably have been no Pepperell Manufacturing Company today—at least under that name.

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But all those things did happen: the chain of circumstance was never broken . . . and it is interesting today to glance at the result. The original "Pepperell mill-site" that Samuel Batchelder found on the East bank of the Saco River was small—probably an acre in extent. The present Pepperell Mills at Biddeford, on the West bank of the river, which take in also the old Laconia mills, cover eight or ten acres; there are other mills and acres at Lewiston in Maine; at Fall River, in Massachusetts; at Lindale, in Georgia; and at a town that also bears the name of Pepperell, in Alabama—all the outgrowth of the development begun by Samuel Batchelder at Biddeford, more than a century ago. The workers in those Pepperell Mills, spread over four States and nearly a thousand

miles, total about twice the force that Sir William commanded in the capture of Louisburg. And the millions of yards of goods, produced last year by those Pepperell workers, and bearing the name of Sir William and the Lady Pepperrell, were spread through channels of trade, and over an America and North America, that Sir William and his Lady never saw—and of which they could never have dreamed. The original small mill-site to which the young William Pepperrell gave his name in 1716—that mill-site is gone, covered up by a modern power-dam. But the Pepperell Manufacturing Company, whose name grew indirectly out of that site, lives on. And again I do not believe that the merchant, Sir William, nor his wife, the Lady Pepperrell, would feel ashamed of the living industrial and business force that has borne, and perpetuated, their name since 1844.

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Certainly, we of Pepperell are proud of that name, and in that pride I should like to close by repeating the tribute made by the people of this old Maine County of York, at a meeting held near here (at Wells), in November 1774. Sir William had then been dead 15 years; the American Revolution was plainly approaching (the battle of Lexington was only five months in the future); nevertheless the men of this countryside, out of their own knowledge of the man, deliberately paid this high tribute:

"The late Sir William Pepperrell, honored and respected in Great Britain and America for his eminent services, did honestly acquire a large and extensive real estate in this country, and gave the highest evidence not only of his being a sincere friend of the rights of man in general, but of having a paternal love of this country in particular."

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Gentlemen of Newcomen, we of the Pepperell Manufacturing Company are glad to join with you today in paying honor to the merchant, the general, the statesman, Sir William Pepperrell . . . and to his wife, the Lady Pepperrell, on the very land that their feet once trod!

The End

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"Actorum Memores simul affectamus Agenda!"



Maine's best traditions are bound up in the memory of Sir William Pepperrell

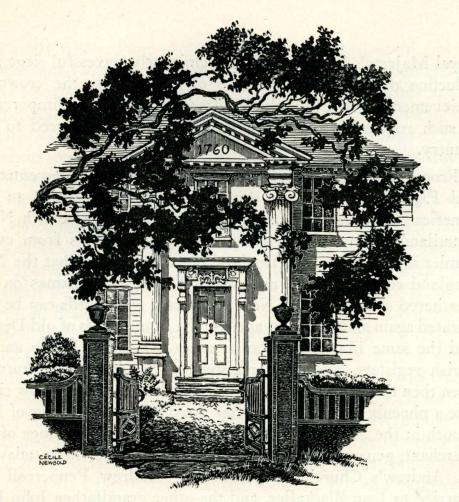
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Biographical Sketch of Mr. Frost

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Maine: here we see a deep, narrow valley where salty tidal waters penetrate within gentle touch of rocky shore: in the heavens wheel three gulls: nearby, amazing, a hay field; with yonder pastureland studded by cedars: up the hill winds our high road, and there, against a blue sky, are wineglass elms: we descend into the traditional neat village with graceful white spire and a sturdy brick inn that welcomed many a stagecoach of the 18th Century—Maine, firm citadel of true Americanism and of American character; fair land of Pine and Sea—Maine is the colorful and historic background of a dramatic and stirring life story: that of SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL, BART. (1696-1759), one of colonial New England's distinguished sons. Where more appropriately could American Newcomen look than to Col. William's eighth great grandson, JOSEPH WILLIAM PEPPERRELL FROST of Kittery Point, to tell this life story! Born at Frost Garrisons in Maine, Mr. Frost received his formal education at Boston and at Cambridge. Served in European theatre of operations with United States Air Force, during Second World War. Is a descendant of the eleventh generation of Frosts in America. A younger man, he is making a name for himself as student of Colonial history and bibliophile. Is President of Kittery Historical Society; Life Member of New England Historic Genealogical Society; Director of Thomas Bailey Aldrich Memorial; Vice-President of Gundalow Club, Inc.; and others. Serves on Library Board, Portsmouth Athenaeum, founded 1817. Author of: "Gundalows of the Piscataqua"; "Review of New Castle Town Registers"; "Cemeteries within sight of the Atlantic"; also critical essays on New England Genealogy. Author, student of Colonial history, good citizen, Mr. Frost is a member of the Maine Committee, in The Newcomen Society of England.





My fellow members of Newcomen:

MID Sir William Pepperrell's surroundings, I wish to review with you an epic of American and British history that has ever been a source of embellishment and pride both to our Nation and State, and especially to our venerable Maine township which has long received acclaim for its distinguished sons: statesmen, authors, poets, artists, editors, biographers, courageous pioneers, sea captains, and merchants. That Kittery Point existed for a long time as a fief of the Pepperrell Family shows the importance of this family to the incipient community; that the Pepperrell landholdings for many years stretched in unbroken succession along thirty miles of Maine coast-nearly all that was settled at that time—from Kittery to Pepperrellboro (the present Saco) shows the important part Pepperrell manorial holdings were to play upon the settlement and development of the State of Maine, then the Maine province of the Massachusetts-Bay colony; that one member of the merchant family of Pepperrell was to lead His

Royal Majesty's land forces in the eminently successful siege and reduction of the French fortress of Louisbourg, the crowning achievement in arms of colonial America, reveals the importance of such responsible leadership as these colonials offered to the country.

From the deep harbor of Plymouth, Devon, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries ship after ship sailed forth to the American coast, some to explore, others to fish in the rich Newfoundland fishing banks, while others bore settlers from every hamlet in Devon to New England in such numbers that the New England coast became a new world Devon. The names on the weathered slate stones of New England's graveyards can be duplicated again and again and again in the churchyards of old Devon, and the same likeness can be noted in the names in the ancient parish registers. From the registers of St. Andrew's Churcheven then the historic church of Plymouth, Devon, and now rising like a phoenix from its ashes after the disastrous bombing of Plymouth in the Second World War—we see the beginnings of the merchant, general, and statesman whom we honor here today. In St. Andrew's Church his grandfather Andrew Pepperrell was married to Joan Blackaller, and the other grandfather John Bray was married to Joan Hooper. If Andrew was to move a few miles distant from Plymouth to the fishing village of Revelstoke, and John and Joan Bray were to move to the Maine province, then their children were to be united in only a few years, three thousand miles away from Plymouth, England. randa bedalognitalib et api apoka a for riccor geol asci folos

Facing to the North on the vertical slope of a slight promontory on Appledore Island on the nearby rocky Isles of Shoals and almost concealed by the shrubbery about it, there stands a tablet which has received little attention from historians. The inscription on it reads:

> THE ISLAND HOME OF Hon. Wm. Pepperrell Maine Historical Society 1900

The knoll where Pepperrell's island home was located has an uninterrupted view of the main land eight miles away: the mouth of the Piscataqua River, Kittery Point, York, Mt. Agamenticus in Maine, Rye and Hampton in New Hampshire. Immediately before it is a small cove called Pepperrell's Cove. It is sheltered from the ocean storms by its location on the leeward side of the island. Appledore Island is small, and a three minute walk gives one a full view of the rolling Atlantic.

Today it seems a bleak enough spot when Summer is past, but it is the desolation that belongs to a ruin. Not far from the location of Pepperrell's island house are the foundation stones that mark the small village that once stood there, and the Gosport village church on Star Island still stands as a reminder of the progress attained by this village in the Eighteenth Century. Two factors caused the growth in settlement at the Shoals: the relative safety of the Shoals, as compared with the mainland, from Indian depredations; and the usefulness of the terrain at the Shoals for the drying and salting of fish. The latter factor must have influenced William Pepperrell in settling at the Shoals. He had come from an English village which subsisted principally on its fishing business. There is a family tradition that Colonel William Pepperrell engaged in the fishing business at the Isles of Shoals from 1676, the year he came from England, and that it was through this business he laid the foundation of his family's fortune. Be that as it may, he put the seal upon his future prosperity when he married the daughter of the prosperous shipbuilder John Bray of Kittery Point. There is every reason to believe that Pepperrell himself had already become prosperous by that time. He was then thirtytwo years of age, a late age for marriage in colonial America. When he built his house, two years later, he built one of the most substantial houses north of Boston. Here his six daughters and two sons spent their childhood, and here Colonel William Pepperrell, merchant, county treasurer, representative, and judge died at the age of eighty-seven.

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The ties with England were strong ones for Colonel Pepperrell. As a wealthy old man he considered returning to England to live.

He even took steps toward the purchase of an estate in England. Until his last years he kept in constant communication with his relatives there and finally remembered some of them, as well as the poor of Revelstoke, in his will. Some of his personal letters survive, but toward the end of his life, as he grew less active in colonial affairs, and merged his business affairs with those of his son, William, into the firm called "The William Pepperrells," Colonel William wrote less often to England. In 1722, about a decade before William's death, his niece Mary Nicholls of Revelstoke, England, wrote him a letter which has never before been brought before the public and which I now present to you through the courtesy of the present owners, the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is addressed "To Mr William Peperelle at his house in Pascadway in Newengland." It reads thus:

"Hond uncle and ant

This comes to you both with my humble service and also of my husband and children hoping of your good health as I now enjoy with my husband and Children. Hond: uncle I desire you will be pleased to send me a line or two in answer to this for I have Sent you four Letors Since I Received any and I ever long to have a line or two from you: that I may know how you all are Since I cant have the happiness of your company I shall be ever glad to have aline or two from your hands Sr I have allready write how my Son hath been home with me and the great Loss: we I am Sure was his unspeakable trouble I thought he would have broken his heart but I hope ye lord will make it up to you both againe Fond uncle I have Rec^d your token of M^r White which you were pleased to send me by Cosson John Phillips we was five shilling. I Give you many thanks uncle for your Love and that you were pleased to have minde in me My praier to God is still for you for: all kindness to me and mine Desiring (uncle) that you will be pleased to answer this: so soon as possible which would be very wellcome to your Ever loving Coss till Death

Mary Nicholls

Revelstock May 16: 1722

My uncle phillips and ant and ther family Desire to give ther kinde love to you and to ther sons

Mr Roe Mr Gayor and Mr Luddra Give their kinde Love to you and all Mr Robins wishing heartily to have your Company"

This letter is particularly interesting for the sense of separation of family by a long and tedious sea voyage that is forcibly presented.

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If distance constituted a considerable source of separation for the early colonials from the mother country, this factor was to be considerably eliminated by the growth of colonial trade. Pepperrell ships were extending the range of their voyages. The William Pepperrells were extending their business in international trade till they finally were considered to be the most important mercantile firm in colonial America. Pepperrell ships went to the Caribbean, they crossed the Atlantic, they traversed the North Sea and the Mediterranean. They helped to make Europe aware of the growth and development on the further bounds of the Atlantic with the export and import possibilities such development entailed. Rum, sugar, molasses, bonded servants, passengers, lumber, naval stores, native foods, and foreign fruits the Pepperrell ships bore. The firm engaged at once in a carrying trade and in the actual purchase and sale of cargoes. The ships and cargoes of the Pepperrells have recently, at Princeton University, received exhaustive critical study at the hands of the historian and scholar, Dr. Byron Fairchild of Washington, D. C., and Kittery Point, Maine, a member of American Newcomen.

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The peace which followed the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, gave the American colonies a period of rest from Indian warfare; the result was that during the two succeeding decades the colonies could turn their attention to internal development and expansion. It could hardly have been a period of unalloyed peace of mind for the colonial leaders, however, because England was at war with Spain; many persons feared that should Spain suffer severe enough losses she would enlist the aid of France. To the English colonists this would bring intense suffering, for the French held the region to the North and the control of many hostile tribes of Indians. What was even worse than this was that France had erected there

a fortress which had required twenty-five years to build and which surpassed any fortification then standing in the Western hemisphere. The cost of this fortress of Louisbourg erected on Cape Breton Island, off Nova Scotia, so astonished the King (who had spent money recklessly on Versailles) that he remarked to members of his court that he expected from the shores of France to see it rising out of the sea. It was considered by military authorities to be impregnable, an Eighteenth Century Maginot Line. As long as it stood, British holdings in America were insecure. Small wonder that American colonials trembled when, in 1744, the dreaded declaration of war between England and France occurred. Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts-Bay Colony sent a message to the companies of militia warning them to be prepared against attacks. Pepperrell in transmitting this order to the captains serving under him added a postscript: "I hope that he who gave us our breath will give us the courage and prudence to behave ourselves like true-born Englishmen.

Your friend and humble servant,

W. Pepperrell."

Scarcely had war been declared when the colonials decided to initiate action against France by a surprise attack upon Louisbourg, a plucky undertaking and one well in line with Pepperrell's admonition to behave with courage and prudence like true-born Englishmen. Governor Shirley's choice of Commander of this expedition was William Pepperrell of Kittery Point.

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Too often in the past historians have been prone to castigate Governor Shirley of Massachusetts for his selection of a merchant to command this military expedition despite its successful outcome. That Pepperrell had been promoted from the position of captain of a company of cavalry to major, then to lieutenant-colonel, and to colonel, that he at the time commanded all the militia of Maine is forgotten. Nor were all of Pepperrell's qualifications for leadership of a military nature! He had served for many years as a representative of Kittery to the General Court, as a member of the council of the Governor of Massachusetts, and as Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Court of Common Pleas. Pepperrell's affairs as

a merchant—he had headed the Boston branch of the firm of "The William Pepperrells" before his father's death—had made him known and respected as a man of integrity and influence. Both Pepperrell's family and his wife's family contained many leaders in colonial shipping, and in religious and social life.

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On the 24th of March, 1745, Pepperrell sailed from Boston Harbor with the Massachusetts troops bound for Louisbourg, a part of the four thousand three hundred troops furnished by New England for this expedition. A month later, the West Indies squadron of Commodore Peter Warren sailed from the same harbor by order of the British Admiralty to assist the land troops. This represents the initial attempt, because the eight thousand soldiers sent later were reinforcements. By May 1st, the siege of the fortress was commenced; on the 16th of June the French capitulated, and the massive fortress and city it surrounded flew the flag of England. Public celebrations of the victory took place in London, in Boston, in New York, in Philadelphia, with illuminations and bonfires. Honors were heaped upon the leaders of the enterprise: Lieutenant-General William Pepperrell was created a baronet, Commodore Peter Warren was made an admiral and later a baronet, Captain Richard Spry and Captain Charles Knowles eventually were knighted. Towns were named after the leaders: including Pepperell in Massachusetts and Pepperrelboro in Maine. Warren was placed in command of Louisbourg and was succeeded by Knowles. Pepperrell remained in the North in command of the troops to whom credit for the victory was chiefly due. The military strategy employed there was of great interest because, as at Braddock's defeat at Duquesne, the colonials exercised their ingenuity and forewent the accepted patterns of war. Louisbourg had seemed impregnable, but the French had trusted to the natural defense of the marshes on one side of the mighty fortress. Across these marshes they knew that no animals could draw cannon, and without cannon the siege would be ineffectual. Undeterred by this difficulty, the doughty colonials had harnessed themselves to the gun carriages and drawn them over terrain where animals could not have passed. In but a short time the siege was over. The siege

was over, but it was the occupation which proved more costly in money, in labor, and in manpower. Pepperrell had raised the larger part of his army, but his presence at Louisbourg was required to preserve discipline. The routine duties of occupation could scarcely raise the ardor that conquest had held for the men. Illness had spread in the camp. Neither finances nor further supplies of men were forthcoming to the extent to which they were needed. When conditions became dire, Pepperrell stepped in and pledged and used a large part of his personal fortune in the payments that guaranteed supplies for the men and payment for their services. In doing this Pepperrell placed himself in that famous succession of American heroes which includes: John Langdon and Ichabod Goodwin of New Hampshire, and Robert Morris and Stephen Girard of Pennsylvania, who not only offered but expended their fortunes in the faith that when victory was secure a grateful nation would recompense them. At home, some foresighted leaders endeavored to support the men at Louisbourg insofar as possible by the receiving and forwarding of finances. I have in my possession a letter from Dr. Benjamin Franklin to Pepperrell's son-in-law, which reads:

"I received yours p M^r Boynton with the Money as therein specified; and have since deliver'd it to M^r Warren (who is now here) with M^r Pepperell's Letter; of which please advise M^r Peppⁿ. I am Sir

Your most hum¹ Serv^t
B Franklin

Philad June 15, 1748"

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With the fall of Louisbourg, Sir William Pepperrell's military life was not concluded, though he retired from business three years afterward. Among the honors conferred upon Pepperrell and upon Governor Shirley had been the raising and the command of English regiments. These regiments were stationed at Louisbourg, and with the return of Louisbourg to France by the peace treaty's terms, in 1749, the regiments were disbanded. Pepperrell took a considerable interest in his regiment, and returned from Kittery to

Louisbourg to visit it before the regiment was dispersed. The final disbandment of the regiment was contrary to the advice of Pepperrell, who foresaw future troubles. Meanwhile, friends of Pepperrell in England were exerting pressure to have him appointed royal governor of New Hampshire. To one of them he wrote: "My regiment is disbanded, and I design to turn farmer. I am sure I spent a good part of my estate in the reduction of Louisbourg. I am obliged to you for your wish that I might be governor, but you know that I am a wes-countryman, and they dislike to put such men in for governors." Nevertheless, before settling down to enjoy his estate at Kittery Point, Sir William made a trip to England almost a year in duration. While there he stopped with the agent of his firm in London and with his old friend Admiral Sir Peter Warren, at his estate in Westbury. Sir Peter had retired to a peaceful country life, but of such a life Sir William was to experience very little.

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What we do know of Sir William's private life at his Kittery Point home stirs our interest and makes us wish that we knew more. He had inherited his father's home and to it had made extensive additions, lengthening the house and adding the fine woodwork characteristic of the Eighteenth Century. Before the house he laid out gardens reaching down to the Pepperrell countinghouse and wharves. A short distance to the rear of the house and next to his deer park he erected a tomb, which he purchased in England upon the death of his father. On it were carved the arms of Pepperrell without the additions made when he was created a baronet by royal letters patent of King George II, dated at Westminster, the 15th of November 1746. When Sir William returned from Boston in triumphal procession, following the Louisbourg victory, he was entertained at Governor Wentworth's house in Little Harbor, Portsmouth, and was rowed across the Piscataqua to Pepperrell Mansion in the royal governor's barge. Later, Sir William acquired his own barge with liveried negro oarsmen. Negroes were also employed as house servants at Pepperrell Mansion. Here considerable state was maintained, for Pepperrell was not only an English baronet but a national hero, for some time a lieutenant general in the Royal army, a wealthy retired merchant, a landholder with

an enormous estate, a jurist, and a statesman who during the absence of an appointee to the royal governorship of Massachusetts was acting governor of that colony.

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That over fifty portraits were once hung in Pepperrell Mansion has often amazed persons, because few persons realize that the house was at one time ten feet longer on one end and fifteen feet longer on the other, and so remained till the alterations made by the owner, Senator Bellamy, in 1848. An even more interesting fact is that the larger proportion of these portraits have been located and identified, even though today they are scattered across the United States of America and in England, and even in South Africa. During this past year, one of the portraits was returned to Kittery Point by its owner, a California descendant of the Pepperrells, who generously arranged that it should be hung in the Lady Pepperrell House, where it is on exhibition.

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It is of interest to note this appearance of baronial splendor in America, the spread of British institutions and ways of life here, even though the country was still frontier and was not prepared for it. How real was this lack of readiness for the spread of British institutions may be seen from two letters which I have at hand, letters which make vivid the real condition of colonial America. In December, 1745, Colonel Nathaniel Sparhawk, then at Kittery, wrote his father-in-law, Sir William Pepperrell at Louisbourg regarding his appearance as a baronet: "Will you give me leave, Sir, to say, you doubtless, in order to appear in character as a Baronett, must have a chariot & four horses and a powdered servant or two behind it whenever you trevail, & that its generally supposed you have wrote for, or will very suddenly, and moreover shall I be so free as to ask you whether you will not send to England for a suit of regimentalls, or give orders for them to be provided here against your arrivall? There will be a great procession, should it please God you safe arrive here, & you would choose, I doubt not, to dress at such time as a General." Arriving on the same day, and on the same boat as the above letter, another

letter came to Pepperrell, this one from his good friend and kinsman Jacob Wendell of Portsmouth. Wendell wrote: "You will have heard of the destruction of a place called Sarrightoga near Albany, where all the inhabitants were killed or taken prinsoners & all the houses &ca, burnt to ashes & all the kattle killed. My brother Phillip Schuyler was slain and butchered in a barberous manner in his bed before he could gett up, and seaven of his negros, for they came upon them about 12 clock att night, when they were all asleep in their beds, and did not think of any danger because they had out skouts of English & Indians between them and Crowne Point, which the French and Indians had all taken prisoners the night before they attacked Sarrightoga. I hope wee shall have an expedition next year against Crowne Point and Canady too, that will be scourges to us untill reduced to his Majesty's obedience, weh I pray God may be the verry next year."

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Like most of the American colonial wars, the French and Indian War of 1755 was a phase of a larger war in which England and France and sometimes other nations were embroiled, largely conducted upon the European continent. Unlike most of these wars, this one commenced upon the American continent. The defeat of Colonel George Washington roused the colonies to activity. Leaders with personality and prestige were sought, men with sufficient popularity to insure easy recruiting of soldiers. Sir William mustered his regiment of militia in Maine, but was almost immediately called upon to raise again and command a regiment of men for the British Army. Though Pepperrell's regiment left for Niagara he remained in the East partly because of a promotion which made necessary a larger command and partly because he was given command of the eastern frontier. This is, of course, one of the many reasons why Pepperrell's reputation remained untarnished when so many military reputations were lost at the outset of this war. For thirty years, Pepperrell had commanded the militia of the Maine province and now, as duties became more onerous, he saw the need for the succession of a younger and more healthy man to this command. He frequently complained in letters to his friends of his own inability to accomplish what he

would wish. The effects of the rheumatic fever which Pepperrell had contracted before the walls of Louisbourg never left him. Though he lived to see Louisbourg fall again (this time in 1758) he never recovered his health. Though undergoing great activity, he was a constant sufferer and finally died at his seat in Kittery Point at the age of sixty-three. To the end of his life Pepperrell remained useful to his country. In February of 1759, he was promoted to lieutenant general in the royal army, an honor never before conferred upon a native American. In May of 1759, Governor Pownall of Massachusetts, hearing of Pepperrell's severe illness, came from Boston to Kittery attended by a troop of horse to pay Pepperrell a state visit. In July of 1759, Pepperrell died.

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The funeral service for Sir William Pepperrell was held at Pepperrell Mansion and was conducted by his dear friend and pastor the Rev. Benjamin Stevens. Hosts of persons attended. On both shores of the Piscataqua, flags were lowered to half-mast, signifying the respect in which he was held by both provinces. Bells were tolled in both Portsmouth and Kittery. The peals that rang from the steeple of the North Church where Pepperrell was christened were answered by those from the bell in St. John's Church which Pepperrell had brought back from Louisbourg and presented to that church, and these in turn were answered again by peals from the parish church at Kittery Point where Pepperrell had worshipped throughout his life. Minute-guns were fired from the forts on both sides of the river, and muffled drums rumbled in the funeral cortege which moved from the house to the nearby Pepperrell tomb. It was a fitting tribute to a great man's passing. The Sunday following the funeral a sermon regarding Pepperrell's life was preached by Dr. Stevens in the parish church. It is not entirely inapropos in passing to remark that General Washington noted in his correspondence the inspiration he had found in reading this sermon.

Pepperrell had been a devout man who had led by his example of tireless support of the efforts of both church and state in colonial America. Much attention has been paid to Pepperrell's friendship with Whitefield the noted evangelist—Whitefield had furnished

the motto of the Louisbourg expedition and had been entertained by Pepperrell in his home—but too little attention has been given to the friendship of Pepperrell with that extraordinary phenomenon upon the American frontier, the philosopher and divine and finally president of Princeton College, Jonathan Edwards. Upon Edwards' career Pepperrell exerted some influence. They had been friends for some years when Edwards secured the interest of Pepperrell in the mission for the Indians at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, upon the frontier. When Edwards was driven forth from his church at Northampton, Pepperrell had secured for this mission, from his friend Admiral Sir Peter Warren, the finances which made the leadership of the mission a possible retreat for Edwards, a haven in which he was to write his *Treatise Concerning the Freedom of the Will*.

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This August day of 1951, it is through gracious hospitality extended to The Newcomen Society by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities of Boston, through its director, Bertram K. Little, likewise a Newcomen member, that we meet here on the grounds of the Lady Pepperrell House, at Kittery Point. We are within the very territory that Sir William loved, close to his birthplace, close to his grandfather's home, to his daughter's mansion, to his tomb, and to his parish church. When Sir William died, his widow determined to build her own home near her daughter, Mrs. Nathaniel Sparhawk, wife of a Boston merchant, legislator, and judge; and near to the same church at Kittery Point which she greatly loved. She arranged for the building, in 1760, of the house which we see before us. Across the road from us are both the church and "Sparhawk Hall," a house built by Pepperrell for his daughter, Elizabeth, when she married. From this house a row of elms was planted by Sir William's orders, leading to the door of his home, Pepperrell Mansion, and passing the house he had built for his son Andrew whose early death had brought such sorrow to the Pepperrell home. Here Lady Pepperrell spent her long widowhood, thirty years. To be sure, the house was stately and the style of her living was elegant. The house saw much joy, but it saw much sorrow too. The conflict over colonial churches touched Lady Pepperrell's life severely,

because one of her sisters had married the leading Anglican clergyman in Boston, and another had married the leading dissenting clergyman of that time in the same city. The conflict over American independence touched her life, for her family was almost equally divided in allegiance. Even this house was confiscated at the time of the American Revolution, though Lady Pepperrell was not forced to leave it and later was allowed to repurchase it. How often she must have sat in the garden, where we sit today, and have looked down upon the river which had brought fame and fortune to her husband's family, and across the river to Frost Point in New Castle, where her sister-in-law lived and beyond which stood the imposing house of her brother-in-law, Andrew Pepperrell. As fortune, security, and the future of her family hung in the balance, she must have thought back to her American beginnings when a great-grandfather proud of the fortune he had made on these shores placed his daughter in a mammoth pair of scales and balanced her weight with a dowry of Massachusetts pine tree shillings! Years later, an American romancer Nathaniel Hawthorne was to make this the subject of one of his delightful tales. While she lived as a girl with her grandfather, Judge Samuel Sewall, and watched him record in his diary the daily life of colonial America, she could scarcely have appreciated this labor which would one day bring him the epithet of "the American Pepys." Fame and fortune had been hers throughout life, but to be the widow of one English baronet and the grandmother of another in a time of revolution must have brought fear as well as sadness, as angry passion seethed about her.

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We would be committing a grave error of omission if today we did not pay some tribute to the *second* Sir William Pepperrell, as well as to his distinguished grandfather whom we honor at this Newcomen gathering. Upon the grandson, William Pepperrell Sparhawk, named after him, Sir William placed the hopes of family succession, the perpetuation of the name and the family's fortune. William Pepperrell Sparhawk, born at "Sparhawk Hall," in Kittery Point, graduated from Harvard College, and changed his name to William Pepperrell when he inherited his grand-

father's property. He increased his family's fortune by his marriage to a Massachusetts heiress. Although he maintained a town house in Boston, yet he spent the greater part of his life in America at his home, Pepperrell Mansion, in Kittery Point. He was staunchly loyal to the home ties in England, so manifest in his loyalty to his country that he chose to return to England when the colonies and the mother country became embroiled in dispute. On the very eve of the American Revolution the second William Pepperrell was created a baronet. If his grandfather was the first American colonial to be created a baronet, he himself was the last American colonial to be made a baronet. With his career in England we are not concerned, though it was a distinguished one. He became an extensive landholder, where Mayfair is today in London. He led the loyalist cause and secured compensation for Americans who had lost their estates through loyalty to the King. He was a founder of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He reared a distinguished family and left descendants of whose record of service to King and Country their ancestor the first Sir William Pepperrell could well have been proud. This would have pleased Sir William, who wrote in his will these words: "to his son's son forever, so long as there shall be one of the name in his line . . . to go to the male issue and to the heirs of such issue, and heir male successively forever ..."

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In looking back upon the history of the Pepperrells in America, one is struck almost at once by evidence of considerable culture; which makes a stark contrast with frontier simplicity which surrounded them. Of course, in many ways, they seem to have been very much the product of their times bearing the conventional attitudes toward property and family and toward the evangelical piety of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century New England. At other times, they seem to have been somewhat in advance of their surroundings: for example, in cosmopolitanism and in learning. By the time of the American Revoltion many families in America equalled and some surpassed the Pepperrells in wealth. A sizeable group of cultured people, whose culture and leisure had been made possible by colonial prosperity, had come into being in America. It is, in other words, no unique phenomenon to find evidence of

culture flourishing in America by 1775. Furthermore, there is nothing especially rousing to our feelings in reading in obituary notices and funeral sermons, such as we have of the Pepperrells, of the exemplary piety and extraordinary qualities of leadership of persons who lived two and three centuries ago. Every now and then, however, we are struck by some particular act which binds together these people's lives with ours, by reflecting an attitude held in our time in which we feel that our age shows a particular advance over previous periods. I was so impressed, while making this study, when reading of the discipline exercised by Sir William at the same time as following current newspaper articles upon the "new" system of discipline utilized by the American army at the present time. It is a notable fact that at Louisbourg not one of the colonial soldiers was punished for any breach of conduct. By moral persuasion and by requiring good examples in his officers, Pepperrell received the cooperation of his men. Again, the spirit of philanthropy that prompted Colonel William Pepperrell to remember the poor persons of Revelstoke, England, and the poor of Kittery in his will, as his son did again later, that prompted Sir William in his will to interest himself in the continued support of the Kittery Point parish and in the establishment at Kittery Point of a free public school; or that prompted Lady Pepperrell, at death, to give freedom to her slaves and to provide for some of them financially—these are realistic touches of generosity that bring the Pepperrells close to the Twentieth Century outlook.

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We have spoken of the extraordinary success which accompanied the merchant ventures of the Pepperrells. The reasons for this extraordinary success have fascinated many students of history. After all, the Pepperrells were but one of the merchant families of colonial America. Why was it that their firm succeeded so often, when other business firms remained small business ventures by comparison? The general consensus of scholarly opinion has supported two reasons in answer to this question. In the first place, the Pepperrells had enormous faith in the future of America. They gave evidence of this faith by their widespread purchase of American property, their erection of mills and other buildings upon their

property, their interest in the development and future of Kittery, and most of all by the amount of profits they were willing to expend in the further expansion of their business. In the second place, the Pepperrells showed business acumen in the development of their foreign trade. This was revealed in a wise choice of business agents, particularly in England and in Portugal, by freedom in experimentation in the choice of cargo, a general fluidity in cargo and in vessels, including the ownership of both product and means of transportation. Perhaps in this day when ownership and management have been largely separated in business as a result of the vast proportions of Twentieth Century business, we should point out that the firm represented the cooperative efforts of a family working in close harmony and superintending the various processes which the business made necessary. Such nepotistic practices, functioning well in a rapidly expanding economy, no doubt contributed no small part to the building of an estate in which relatives shared an interest as leaders in the mercantile concern, and an interest that was not governed solely by salary.

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Our story commenced in Devon, a county in England especially close to us as fellow members of Newcomen because of its connection with Thomas Newcomen at Dartmouth, within the lifetime of Sir William Pepperrell. It closes beside the Piscataqua, in New England. It began beneath oak and hawthorn, and has finished beneath elm and lilac. It has bound together two lands washed by the same ocean and joined here by the bonds of parenthood, of commerce, and of common interests in peace and in war. It has contained the story of the beginnings of a new nation, of the stirrings of self-consciousness as, for the first time, the colonials achieved notable success against long established powers.

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He was a wise Maine historian who once wrote the phrase: "Piscataqua was almost New Devon." The group that had settled this area was more nearly homogeneous in its stock and in its outlook than almost any other settlement in America. Here, the river with its resonant Indian name glides swiftly past the ancient

Strawberry Banke, and then rounds the edge of Kittery Point. The locations of Portsmouth and Kittery Point and the river, are reminders of the river Dart, with a name symbolic of its swiftness, flowing between Dartmouth and Kittery Point, in Devon, England. As it reaches the sea, the river meets the little islands of Tavistock and Appledore, and our minds are carried back to the little Devon villages of those names, even as the districts of Paignton and Brixham, a few miles away, recall to us Devon villages, lanes that run between high hedges, spires that top towns, and ever the green of the lovely island and the blue of the Sea beyond.

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Here a white spire pierces tree tops. Here gracious gardens lie juxtaposed against rocky shore line. Red lobster pots and buoys, blue sky and water, gray rock and darker earth, low-lying green shrubbery and lofty trees and pleasant views of gleaming white houses, these reveal to us the fair land which colonists developed, and where they planted in a new England the solid institutions of old England. If the growth was slightly different, still the soil was different. The roots were one!

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No longer do the chaise and chariot of Sir William and Lady Pepperrell pass along the highroad, no longer does the baronet's barge glide over the gleaming river upon state business.

Now, however, an international Society that binds together the peoples of England and America has met to honor one Sir William Pepperrell, who throughout his life did much to cement a spirit of friendship and cooperation: His Britannic Majesty's obedient servant of Piscataqua!

THE END

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"Actorum Memores simul affectamus Agenda!"



THIS NEWCOMEN ADDRESS, dealing with Old Colonial Kittery and with the life and times and contributions of SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL, BART. (1696-1759), was delivered during a Maine Newcomen occasion, termed "A Kittery Colonial Tea," held in the grounds and gardens of the Lady Pepperrell House, built in 1760, at Kittery Point, Maine, U.S.A., on August 17, 1951. The unique meeting was presided over by Dr. WILLIAM STARK NEWELL of Bath, Chairman of the Board, Bath Iron Works Corporation; Chairman of the Maine Committee, in The Newcomen Society of England. The guest of honor, Mr. McIntire, was introduced by the Senior VICE-PRESIDENT FOR NORTH AMERICA in this international Society. The guest of honor, Mr. Frost, was introduced by WILLIAM GREENOUGH WENDELL of Hartford, Chairman of the Board, The Warner House Association, Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Vice-Chairman of the Connecticut Committee, in American Newcomen.

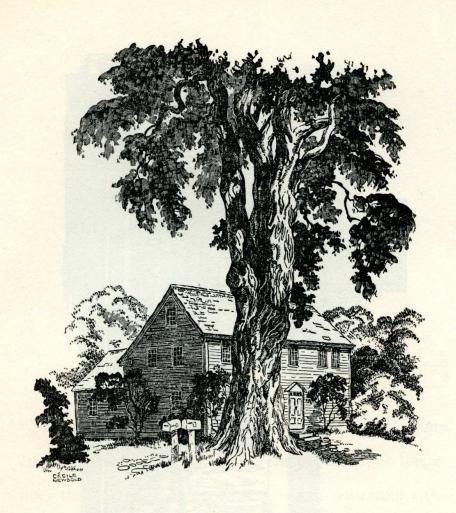
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"From the deep harbor of Plymouth in Devon, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, ship after ship sailed forth to the American coast, some to explore, others to fish in the rich Newfoundland fishing banks, while others bore settlers from every hamlet in Devon to New England in such numbers that the New England coast became a new world Devon. The names on the weathered slate stones of New England's graveyards can be duplicated again and again in the churchyards of old Devon, and the same likeness can be noted in the names in the ancient parish registers."

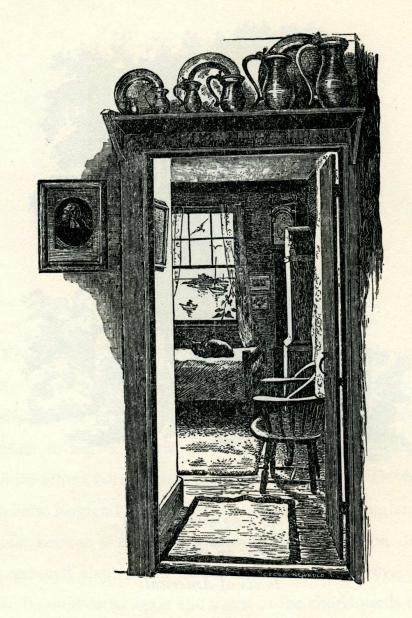
—Joseph W. P. Frost

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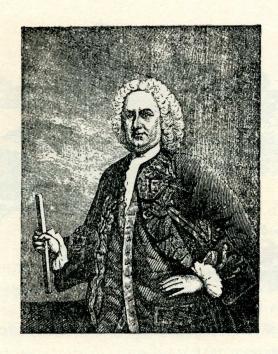
New England's charm ever is an inspiration to all of America!

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Courage, adventure, daring
—these were
everyday experiences when
Sir William lived!

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"No longer do the chaise and chariot of Sir William and Lady Pepperrell pass along the highroad, no longer does the baronet's barge glide over the gleaming river upon state business.

"Now, however, an international Society that binds together the peoples of England and America has met to honor one Sir William Pepperrell, who throughout his life did much to cement a spirit of friendship and cooperation: His Britannic Majesty's obedient servant of Piscataqua!"

—Joseph W. P. Frost

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American Newcomen, interested always in American colonial history relating to commerce, trade, fisheries, shipping, and navigation, takes satisfaction in this Newcomen manuscript giving a clear and colorful picture of days and years, in the early 18th Century, at Old Kittery and in the historic Piscataqua region of Maine. It constitutes a memorial and a tribute to a truly great colonial leader, Sir William Pepperrell, Bart. (1696-1759), who lived and worked and accomplished along rocky shores of Southern Maine, during Golden Days of an eventful colonial era. Indeed Maine and all America well may revere his memory and profit by his courageous example. The heritage of America is enriched through the lives and service and achievements of such God-fearing New Englanders!

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THE NEWCOMEN SOCIETY OF ENGLAND

IN NORTH AMERICA

Broadly, this British Society has as its purposes: to increase an appreciation of American-British traditions and ideals in the Arts and Sciences, especially in that bond of sympathy for the cultural and spiritual forces which are common to the two countries; and, secondly, to serve as another link in the intimately friendly relations existing between Great Britain and the United States of America.

The Newcomen Society centers its work in the history of Material Civilization, the history of: Industry, Invention, Engineering, Transportation, the Utilities, Communication, Mining, Agriculture, Finance, Banking, Economics, Education, and the Law—these and correlated historical fields. In short, the background of those factors which have contributed or are contributing to the progress of Mankind.

The best of British traditions, British scholarship, and British ideals stand back of this honorary society, whose headquarters are at London. Its name perpetuates the life and work of Thomas Newcomen (1663-1729), the British pioneer, whose valuable contributions in improvements to the newly invented Steam Engine brought him lasting fame in the field of the Mechanic Arts. The Newcomen Engines, whose period of use was from 1712 to 1775, paved a way for the Industrial Revolution. Newcomen's inventive genius preceded by more than 50 years the brilliant work in Steam by the world-famous James Watt.

"The roads you travel so briskly lead out of dim antiquity, and you study the past chiefly because of its bearing on the living present and its promise for the future."

—LIEUTENANT GENERAL JAMES G. HARBORD, K.C.M.G., D.S.M., LL.D., U.S. ARMY (RET.)

(1866-1947)

Late American Member of Council at London The Newcomen Society of England